

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUGUST 5, 1940

Military Service Is Debated by Nation

Conscription Measure Would Affect All U. S. Males from Ages of 18 to 64

SHARP ISSUES HAVE ARISEN

Both Sides Ready for Battle on Proposal Without Precedent in Time of Peace

Conscription—in America—in time of peace!

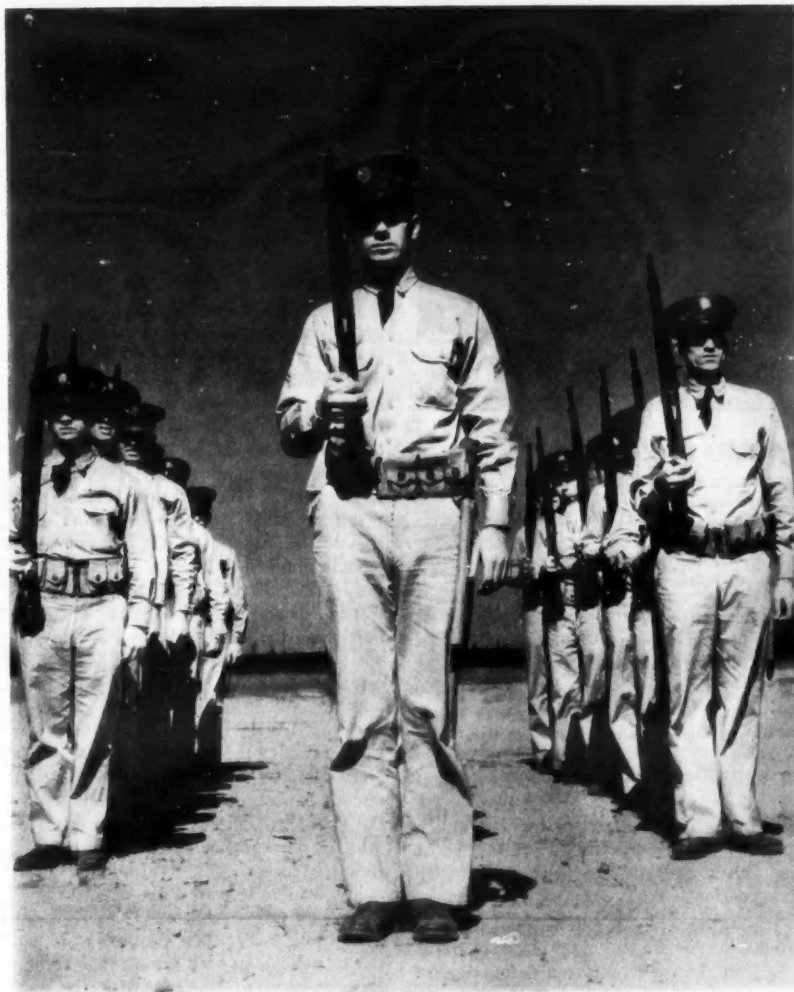
Twelve months ago it was preached by no one except a handful of preparedness advocates who had been doing it for years without expecting or receiving the slightest notice. Just after the Munich Conference in 1938, the Gallup Poll reported that only 37 per cent of our people were in favor of compulsory military training in peacetime. A year later, after the outbreak of the war, Dr. Gallup reported that the percentage had increased to 39. Then, in the spring of 1940, the blitzkrieg in the west opened with an invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Smashing the Low Countries, the Germans trapped large British and French forces in Flanders. Throughout Germany, on June 5, bells and flags celebrated the victory which had won the Channel ports. That same day the German army opened a drive straight toward Paris. The Little Maginot Line was being pierced. The great Maginot Line was being rapidly outflanked. Over here the question of the hour became, "Where are these Germans going to stop?" The Gallup Poll's percentage in favor of conscription jumped to 50.

Movement Grows

The morning of June 7, the New York Times printed an editorial which was at once discussed from coast to coast. Prepare before it is too late, warned the Times. "Congress has taken the first necessary steps by appropriating funds for the acquisition of matériel; but matériel is of no value without men who are trained to use it." Its suggestion as to a solution was the bombshell. "The time has come when, in the interest of self-protection, the American people should at once adopt a national system of universal compulsory military training." June 10 Italy declared war. The presidents of Harvard and Princeton made speeches in which they advocated immediate conscription. Editors and columnists joined them, though there were dissenting voices raised here and there. June 14 the Germans entered Paris, and now the Poll registered 64 per cent for the draft. June 16 Premier Reynaud was replaced by Marshal Pétain, and the new government's announcement that France was ready to discuss peace terms proved that Germany had won her greatest victory. Two days later President Roosevelt said he would soon "recommend to Congress a comprehensive program for some form of universal government service for the country's youth." A wag suggested as a primary slogan: "Draft Roosevelt and he'll draft you."

On June 20 a bill for outright military conscription was introduced in the Senate by Senator Edward R. Burke, Democrat, Nebraska. Next day the same bill was presented in the House by Representative James W. Wadsworth, Republican, New York. This bill was prepared by the National Emergency Committee of the Military Training Camps Association. It is

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SQUAD FORMATION

U. S. ARMY SIGNAL CORPS

Conversing with the Wise

BY WALTER E. MYER

In books, says the philosopher, Francis Bacon, "we converse with the wise, as in action with fools." There is much truth in this observation, though it will stand considerable modification. The people with whom we converse face to face are not all fools, though some of them are, and few of them are to be classed among the great. As we go about among our friends, we meet and talk with many admirable people, but, unless our situation is quite unusual, we are thrown with few who stand in the top rank of the nation's thinkers and fewer still who have places among the greatest of all time. We naturally enjoy our associations, and they will ever remain the most potent influence in our lives. But oral conversation as a spur to the finest possible achievement usually leaves much to be desired.

When we read, however, we may be in contact with the greatest minds of all time. You may go to the library shelf and, by the simple act of taking down books and turning their pages, secure an introduction to the wisest men and women of the ages. You may come into possession of the best that they have ever thought in their most inspired moments. You may, in the truest sense, associate with the leaders of every land and every epoch of history. For inspiration of the highest order, therefore, you may turn to books. You turn to them also for specific information, for, on the whole, people who have had books published are better informed than the people whom you are likely to meet and talk to concerning the problems in which you have an interest.

But it is not to be assumed that one may gain dependable information or inspiration merely by opening books at random. It is not so easy as that. The careful task of selection cannot be avoided. "Some books are to be tasted," says Bacon, "others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." He might have added that most of the books which pour from the printing presses might well be thrown into the waste basket upon sight. But how are you to make the selection? How are you to learn how to choose the most reliable or the most inspiring books? These questions may be answered by asking another—"Why are you in school?" One of your primary objects in spending years in schools is, or should be, to learn to read and to learn what to read. Your school should help you find your way about in the world of books. If your school fails in this objective, if it does not serve as a guide to your reading, you must undertake the task yourself; that is, if you hope to be well educated—educated in the art of conversing with the wise.

Conclave at Havana Backs Hull Program

Americas Agree on Necessity For Unified Economic, Political and Military Action

MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE

United States Believed Able to Retain Leadership Only Through Concentrated Effort

The second Conference of American Foreign Ministers concluded its uncomfortably hot 10-day session in Havana, last week, having accomplished more than many observers had expected of it. Its work has been embodied in a series of declarations, adopted just before adjournment, which emphasize unity among the American republics on three main points.

First, the entire Western Hemisphere has apparently united in support of the Monroe Doctrine, all states agreeing on common measures to ensure the security of the continent in the event that Germany, Italy, or any other European powers attempt to seize Latin-American territories belonging to France, England, or the Netherlands—whether by direct or indirect means. Second, the 21 republics have agreed upon an economic program designed to offset the loss of European markets caused by the war, and to resist any trade pressure imposed from abroad. Third, the American states have agreed to establish a common front against Fifth Column and other forms of subversive activity directed from outside the continents.

Important Gathering

Although it is too early to measure the effects of the conference, some believe it may prove to be one of the most important Pan-American gatherings ever held. But that remains to be seen. In order to appreciate just what the conference has accomplished to date, it would be well to cast a brief glance at the conditions under which it met.

When the delegates first gathered in a spacious interior of Havana's costly new Capitolio, they found an atmosphere as tense as the Cuban climate was hot and moist. The well-tanned Latin diplomats who arrived in white linen suits, carrying despatch cases were foreign ministers, or their representatives, and their staffs. These men were not idealists. They were not interested in democracy, nor were they greatly concerned over what might happen to England. But most of them represented the ruling class of landowners and financiers which dominates a large part of Latin America. They came of a class which Hitler has all but destroyed in parts of Europe, and they came with German warnings still ringing loudly in their ears.

Germany, they had been told, was going to win the war. When it was over, she would build a "new world order," rewarding those who had cast their lot with her, and meting out fearful punishment to those who did not. In the meantime she would stand for no nonsense from America. Those who were going to clamber aboard the Nazi band wagon should do so quickly, it was intimated. Those who did not—those who chose to play along with the United States at Havana, that is—would face exclusion from the new world order, to be followed by economic collapse and inevitable revolution.

There was not a capital south of the Rio Grande which had not received this warning in one form or another. In the

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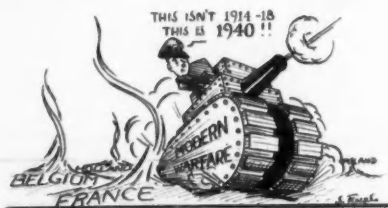


OPINION MAKERS

J. W. MCNIGAL

What the Magazines Say

GERMANY'S military success has stunned all Europe, writes Oswald Garrison Villard in the August *Atlantic Monthly*. But her success is not alone due to the fact that she has piled up vast amounts of armaments, but because she has dared to throw overboard all old tactics of warfare and to experiment with new methods which have proved extraordinarily successful and which have completely



overwhelmed the enemy. Perfect timing and excellent coordination of the various units of warfare helped to bring victory.

Since Germany's leaders have been accountable to no one but themselves, they have not been afraid to make far-reaching changes in the military machine. They have shaken off a great deal of the caste and snobbery of the old army and have stressed comradeship among officers and soldiers. They have emphasized initiative and new tactics, such as placing men behind enemy lines to cut communications and to terrorize enemy troops and the civil population. Today the army is no longer bound by the tradition or the red tape which existed under the Kaiser.

To Sir Edmund Ironside's reiteration of the classic Chamberlain remark that Hitler had "missed the bus" by not attacking the British and French at the outbreak of the war last fall, Villard says that the Allied leaders should have realized that Germany was reorganizing her army after her Polish campaign. And why, he questions, were the Allied leaders surprised by the Nazi onslaught upon France when the same tactics were used on a smaller scale in the Polish attack? Villard discredits Ironside's remark that the German army is inferior to the British because they have no generals who have served in the first World War. Germany has purposely put in command men who were unaffected by the last war, and German successes have proved the wisdom of such a step.

America should take notice, concludes Mr. Villard. He believes that a complete modernization of our War and Navy Departments is necessary, with the administration of our defense entrusted to wide-awake young men.

* * *

When the Germans conquered Holland last spring, the Dutch East Indies suddenly awakened to the fact that they were adrift on their own resources, writes Rupert Emerson in the July *Foreign Affairs*. The Dutch East Indies, producing quantities of rubber, tin, petroleum, sugar, coffee, tea,

copra, and quinine, are uneasy over this new situation, for they realize that they are an extremely wealthy colonial plum.

Many foreign countries have an interest in the islands. England has invested huge sums of money in oil fields. The United States consumes great quantities of tin and rubber, which are so essential to our present-day defense program. Japan buys much of the islands' rubber, tin, and petroleum, and looks to the Indies for her oil supply if the American market is cut off. Germany has sent her citizens to the islands and in the past has imported much rubber. Any change in the ownership of the Dutch East Indies is of interest to these nations.

Japan, continues Mr. Emerson, has disclosed her desire to maintain the status quo. She has never made a definite statement that she would like to acquire political control over the islands, but she has expressed the wish for closer economic relations. Yet, writes Mr. Emerson, it is believed that Japan wants to end the Chino-Japanese War so that she may reach an understanding with the totalitarian powers in order to take advantage of the moment to exploit the weak position of the Indies today. This would be extremely dangerous both for the United States and for the British Empire. The United States is one of the islands' best customers, and if the Dutch East Indies should fall into Japanese hands, Japan might try to use them as an economic and political weapon in order to gain concessions from the United States.

* * *

In the July 29 *New Republic*, Morris L. Cooke discusses the new preparedness program. He feels that the United States



should profit from the mistakes it made during the first World War in carrying out its defense program. The whole program during those years was inefficiently managed and cost three times what it should have, resulting in later repercussions which tended to upset our whole economy during the twenties. War profits, such as occurred during the last war, should be curbed. Such efficient organizations as the army's "Purchase, Storage, and Traffic" department of the first World War should be restored. United States army and navy engineers should agree upon the kind of standard plane to be produced. This and other weaknesses in our preparedness program should be remedied immediately.

Democracy Strengthened by Polls Of Public Opinion, Authors Hold

TO keep civilization moving onward and upward, we know that we must constantly make decisions of policy, constantly make choices between this goal and that goal, or between this way of reaching it and another way. Not until comparatively recent years has it been realized that, when we are making decisions concerning people other than ourselves, it is also important to know what they think about these decisions. Even the dictators of foreign countries are aware of this, and they spare no effort to make the opinions of their people coincide with their own opinions. In the democracies, governments try to follow public opinion instead of trying to lead it.

Within the last 10 years, "public opinion polls" have been developed in the United States (also in England) as a means of employing a scientific method of finding out what the public thinks and how its opinions change from week to week. How these polls work, what some of their findings have been, and what their place is in a democracy—these questions are all answered in a new book, "The Pulse of Democracy" (New York: Simon and Schuster, \$2.50) by George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and Saul F. Rae, a researcher for the Institute.

The secret of discovering what proportion of the public believes one way, and what proportion believes another way, lies not in the number of persons whose opinions are asked, but in the kind of persons questioned and the number of each kind. For example, the authors explain that a housewife can "sample" her soup, or find out its flavor, by tasting a mere spoonful; but if she is to discover the real flavor, she must be certain that all the ingredients are well stirred up. So, by finding out how many people there are in each social group, each political group, and each income group, the polls ask a proportionate number of persons in each group, then combine their answers to find out what the public as a whole thinks.

Scientifically and mathematically, the method is nearly perfect. If care is taken in wording the questions so they do not favor either a "yes" or "no" answer, and if the selection of people to be interviewed is correct, the possibility of error is small enough to be unimportant. It has been found that a poll of between 600 and 900 persons, properly selected, will give an amazingly accurate picture of the American public's opinions. This has been proved by checking the predictions made by the pollers against the results of elections.

The classic example of a poll's failure is the Literary Digest Poll which predicted a Republican landslide in 1936. Mr. Gallup and his co-author show that the trouble with that poll was that only people who owned automobiles and telephones were interviewed—people of an income group which is largely Republican in sentiment, instead of people of ALL the income groups.

To help critical persons judge the results of public opinion polls, the authors set forth a list of questions which should be answered: 1) Who conducts the poll; how is it financed? 2) How were the ballots collected? 3) What controls ensure that the "sample" is representative of the voting population? 4) Are returns given according to how the various groups voted in the previous election? 5) Are returns presented by different income groups, age groups, sex, geographical area? 6) If the poll is conducted by mail or by ballot-in-the-paper technique, is there evidence of "stuffing the ballot box" by large pressure groups or failure of large sections of the public to cooperate? 7) Was the sample taken from a cross section of the total public, the voting public? 8) Was the sample large enough to meet the requirements of scientific sampling? 9) When was the survey taken?

After explaining the polling procedure, the authors present actual cases where the polls assisted the cause of good govern-

ment by finding out what public opinion really was. They showed, for instance, that Roosevelt's re-election in 1936 was not a sign that the people wanted the Supreme Court changed; that the public favored federal old-age pensions, but not the Townsend plan; that Louisiana voters had no faith in the honesty of their elections during Huey Long's reign.

Self-interest will keep the polls honest, say Gallup and Rae. They explain that a dishonest poll would soon be shown up by competing polls, and that they must always be fair if they are to continue selling their information to the many newspapers of diverse political opinion.

It is said by critics that the polls exercise undue and dangerous pressure on Congress when it is considering certain bills. The authors firmly believe, in the first place, that Congress should pay attention to what the people want; second, that most congressmen want to know what the people think; and third, that the polls enable legislators to discover how strong or weak pressure groups really are, and guard them against appraising public opinion from the letters and telegrams they receive.

Many persons believe the polls tend to create a "bandwagon vote," or swing weak votes to the candidate who is leading the public opinion poll. The authors refute this by pointing out that in almost all pre-election polls, the leading candidate has tended to LOSE strength as the election neared.

A final and most serious criticism, if true, is that people will lose interest in voting when they have polls to show who will probably win the election. It seems, however, that there is no truth in this, for the popular vote in the last two presidential elections was larger than in any preceding elections in the country's history.



WIDE WORLD

DR. GEORGE GALLUP

Head of the American Institute of Public Opinion.

Indeed, there is much reason to believe the public opinion polls are actually helping democracy by stimulating thought and discussion of current problems, social, political, and economic. The widespread interest which has been shown in them during the last few years would tend to bear this out.

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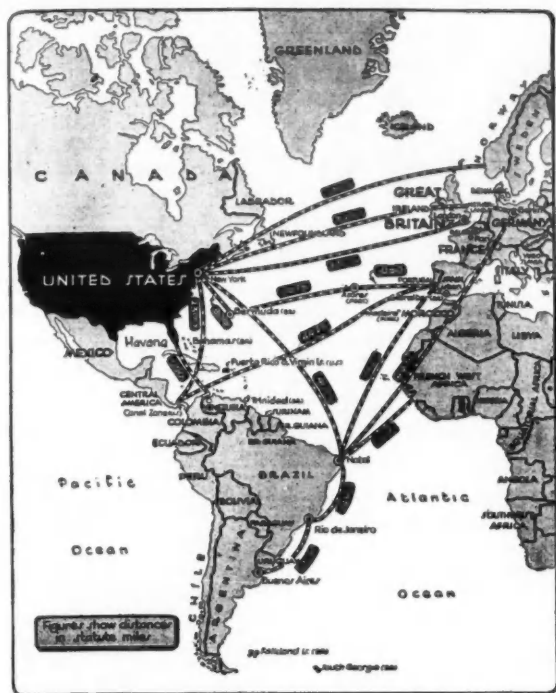
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DISTANCES BETWEEN THE AMERICAS AND EUROPE

Havana Parley Adopts Program

(Concluded from page 1)

case of five Central American republics the warnings had been official and blunt, causing great excitement in the Isthmus. In other cases they had been more quietly delivered, but no less effectively. Uruguay had been so cowed that she dared not expel Nazi diplomatic and consular officials who had so overstepped themselves as to have become involved in a wide plot aimed at overthrowing the government. Italy and Spain were also involved, and Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Brazil—all with large German-Italian minorities, were gravely worried. Before the conference opened, Spain had abruptly severed diplomatic relations with Chile. Just after it opened—as though by way of warning—German Economic Minister Dr. Walther Funk delivered a violent verbal blast against the United States and its policies. Upon every possible occasion and in every possible way the Axis powers had made it known that they were sitting in judgment upon every act of every American republic at Havana.

First Problem

This, in brief, was the situation confronting Secretary Hull and his staff upon arriving in Havana. The nearby states whose policies have long run more or less parallel to those of the United States—namely Cuba, Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, and a few others—could be counted upon. But it was no secret that Venezuela, Brazil, and the great bulk of South America beyond was wavering. Argentina and a number of other countries to the south had not even sent their foreign ministers, leaving the work to substitutes of lesser rank. What had the United States to offset the German-Italian threats? What had the United States to offer in place of the European market? Agreed that a certain measure of hemispheric solidarity was possible in normal times, in the face of such intense pressure from abroad could any real degree of political unity be achieved between North America, which is largely Protestant and English-speaking, and Latin America, where most of the people are Roman Catholic and speak Spanish or Portuguese? Secretary Hull and his staff thought so, and at present it appears that they were right.

European Possessions

The first problem tackled was that of the Danish, Dutch, French, and British possessions in the Western Hemisphere. It is no longer any secret that the United States government would regard German control over any of these areas as a menace to American security. German control

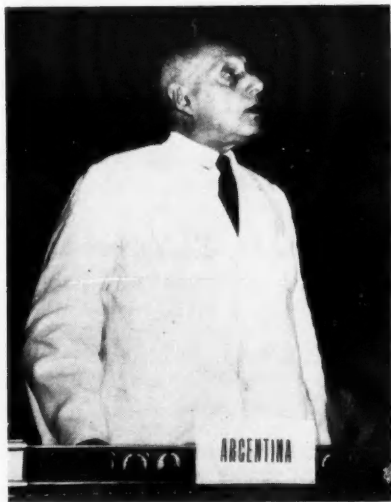
might be effected in one of two ways—through outright annexation, or through pressure upon the governments in Europe which now control them. At present, for example, France and Holland may easily be used as German "dummies" to control French and Dutch possessions in German interests.

The American delegation proposed that these territories be taken over and governed by the American republics jointly, through a commission, until the danger passed—if it seemed necessary. The other republics were interested but not all approved. Some frankly desired outright annexation by individual states. Brazil, for example, was eyeing the British, French, and Dutch Guianas adjacent to her northern border; Argentina was casting her net for the British-owned Falkland Islands; Venezuela coveted the Dutch islands of Curacao and Aruba (containing huge oil refineries); while little Guatemala laid claim to a strip of territory in British Honduras, which she asserted to be rightfully hers. Such ambitions were not publicly aired, of course. At Havana, as in most conferences, the most important discussions were those which went on without letup in closed committee rooms, in corridors, and in hotel suites.

The Fifth Column

A similar snag was struck when the United States proposed that all American republics take steps to restrict Fifth Column activity, and in particular to prevent European diplomats and consular officials from taking part in movements aimed at the overthrow of the very governments to which they are accredited. The delegates greeted this suggestion with a murmur of polite approval, but privately they raised questions. Why did the United States suggest that other countries should do what it failed to do itself? What about the German-American Bund? Why did the United States permit a Nazi consular official who had been expelled by Brazil for Fifth Column activities to enter the German consulate in New York and remain there? What about the German consul-general in New Orleans, Edgar Freiherr Spiegel von und zu Peckelsheim, who warned that a victorious Germany "will not forget" America's aid to England? If Germany maintains swollen diplomatic and consular staffs in Latin America, they asked, does she not also in the United States?

These were embarrassing questions, just as the territorial ambitions of Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala, and Venezuela were embarrassing. But the difficulties were cleared away, one by one, as the days passed. In the case of the Fifth Column,



SPOKE FOR ARGENTINA
Delegate Leopoldo Melo was the most important figure at the Havana conference after Secretary Hull.

as the Nazi movement abroad is called, little could be done. The countries have all agreed to conduct an examination into the activities of the organizations, consulates, and embassies operating from Europe, but obviously the United States cannot crack down on Nazi activities in Uruguay without the acquiescence of the Uruguayan government any more than Argentina can send a boatload of marines to New Jersey to fight the Bund.

Declaration of Havana

In the case of European possession in the Americas, matters have turned out somewhat better. The stand of the conference in this regard has been embodied in a separate resolution known as the Declaration of Havana. This declaration is of great importance because it does not require a meeting of all 21 republics before any action can be taken. Under the Havana Declaration, any American republic which feels its security is menaced by a change or imminent change in sovereignty in any of the British, French, Dutch, or Danish possessions in the Americas, can act at once to bring that territory under its jurisdiction.

As an example, if the United States were convinced that Germany intended to establish a base at Martinique, in the French West Indies, it can notify the other republics and immediately send forces to take over the island. But so long as it acts within the Declaration of Havana, the United States cannot annex Martinique. A meeting of the republics must be called. No country is obliged to respond, but those who do will elect a joint commission, of perhaps three men, each representing a different republic, to administer the affairs of the region until the danger has passed. Then the island will either be returned to its original owner or, if the former mother country seems incapable of managing it independently, the inhabitants will be prepared for the responsibility of establishing their own government and starting out as an independent state.

Argentina Objects

From the very beginning Argentina objected to this plan, maintaining that no emergency was likely to rise which would justify such action, and that the European territories should be given the right of self-determination anyway. When a special concession to Argentina was finally made with regard to the Falklands, which she is empowered to annex outright, if she feels it necessary, the Argentine delegation, headed by Dr. Leopoldo Melo, indicated that he would accept, and it seemed as though the plan would be unanimously adopted. At the very last moment, however, almost as the signatures were being affixed, Dr. Melo announced that Argentina's signature would be provisional. All other countries were bound by their signatures until the home governments had ratified or turned down the plan, but the Argentines will not regard their signing as binding until the government in Buenos Aires accepts.

Why did Argentina insist upon making this last-minute reservation? Most observers believe she did so in order to maintain her bargaining position with the United States as regards the most difficult and important problem of all—that of establishing a huge Pan-American economic combine to combat German, Italian, or Japanese trade pressure. The actual text of the economic accord, the second of the three important agreements signed in Havana, conveys little knowledge of what is intended. It merely directs the republics to go to work without delay in establishing a trade system strong enough to resist whatever economic pressure might be brought to bear against any Latin-American country by a non-American power or coalition of powers.

What would such a trade system be? It was not stated officially, but it is believed that a great deal of the reluctance shown in the early sessions of the conference were melted away by assurances that the United States will assume a major share of the responsibility in establishing a hemispheric trade combine to offset Nazi pressure. The fact that President Roosevelt had asked Congress for a \$500,000,000 increase in the capital of the Export-Import Bank on the second day of the conference, hinted that

the so-called Cartel Plan may still be under consideration. Under this plan the United States would create a great central purchasing and sales agency for all the Americas. The agency, or cartel, as we have explained before, would presumably buy up the huge stocks of American raw materials, cotton, coffee, sugar, wheat, cattle, hides, ores, wood, and so on, pool them, and sell them abroad. By forcing outside powers to deal with this central combine the American republics may be able to forestall any concentrated economic pressure against a single American country. Whatever pressure there is, will presumably be absorbed by the entire hemisphere.

No Promises Made

But so far as can be learned, no definite promise has been made regarding the amounts of money which will be made available for that purpose. Preliminary surveys show that huge expenditures will have to be made, if the plan is to work, expenditures ranging far beyond hundreds of millions into the billions. It was apparently the fact that Argentina is not yet satisfied that this money will be forthcoming in sufficient quantity that caused her to note several reservations when she signed the declarations. So long as Argentina's participation is uncertain, she will be in a position to bargain with the United States on matters concerning the projected trade system.

All in all, the Havana conference represents a diplomatic victory of no little importance to the United States. Discounting the Argentine reservations, for the moment, all the republics have agreed to combat the subversive activities of European powers, to act, if necessary, to prevent any menace to hemispheric security which might accrue through a change in the status of one of the European territories in America, and to start work immediately on the creation of a strong new trade system.



URGED UNITED ACTION
Secretary of State Hull called upon the Pan-American nations to unite in face of the German threat.

But the victory so far appears only on paper and a great many rocks and shoals lie ahead. If it is to be turned into reality, the United States will be obliged to spend immense sums, to make economic sacrifices, to readjust its views on world trade, and to concentrate an intense national effort toward increasing inter-American trade. From Havana we have learned that we can maintain our somewhat precarious leadership just so long as we are willing to do this, and no longer. In that sense our success at Havana can be measured in terms of a jockey who has secured a favorable position at the starting line. The outlook is good, but the real race still lies ahead.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up With the News?

1. Export-Import; 2. true; 3. Viscount Halifax; 4. Burke-Wadsworth; 5. true; 6. (b); 7. scrap metal and petroleum; 8. Japan; 9. Jan Masaryk; 10. Leopold Stokowski; 11. (a); 12. (d); 13. tobacco; 14. tin and rubber; 15. true; 16. Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar; 17. true; 18. (c); 19. Falkland Islands. Argentina; 20. Edward R. Burke.



SUMMER POLITICS

On the left, Wendell Willkie, Republican nominee for the presidency, stops to chat with a farmer during his vacation in Colorado. On the right, Secretary Wallace, Democratic nominee for the vice-presidency, is photographed with Mrs. Wallace. Both men will soon be campaigning actively.

DOMESTIC

Defense Progress

Preparations for the defense of the Western Hemisphere continue to be the most important and most discussed problem in the United States. As Congress last week debated the question of conscripting an army and the secretary of state planned defense cooperation with Latin-American countries (see page 1), the progress of our defense program was reported by William S. Knudsen, production chief of the National Advisory Defense Commission.

Mr. Knudsen said that most of the "bottle-necks" which might slow down the production of arms had been eliminated. However, he warned the public not to expect mass production of war materials immediately, because it takes time to get the blueprints and tools necessary to produce great numbers of tanks and guns. The Defense Commission has lent nearly two billion dollars' worth of contracts. In addition, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has lent 92 million dollars to the Wright Aeronautical Corporation for the construction of a factory to produce 12,000 airplane engines a year.

The program now in progress is planned fully to equip an army of two million men. Airplane production is expected to reach a figure of 3,000 per month, but not until 1942. Approximately 895 planes will be produced during the present month: 396 for the U. S., 236 for Britain, 84 for other foreign countries, 174 for U. S. commercial use, and 5 for unclassified use. Small-arms production has brought no serious problem to light; by October 1, one arsenal alone will be producing 500 of the new Garand automatic rifles a month, and production will be doubled by early spring.

In the program to expand the U. S. fleet by 70 per cent, the Defense Commission has been working with the Navy Department, making detailed studies of the problem of expanding shipbuilding facilities. A bill to speed up naval shipbuilding, which was passed by Congress before the political conventions and signed by the President June 28, contains a provision which may be very important, though it has just been discovered during a close perusal of the bill. It gives the President the power, at his discretion, to commandeer and turn over to government operation "any manufacturing plant or facility" in the United States which he considers essential to the national defense. Such authority was never before granted a chief executive except in wartime.

Export Control

Modern warfare feeds on oil and metal as well as on human lives. Allegedly to conserve oil and metal for the defense of this country, the President recently exercised a power given him by Congress. He announced that all exports of oil and scrap metal must be ap-

proved and licensed by an administrator of export control.

Many observers believe the measure is designed to withhold these vital war materials from Germany, Italy, and Japan. On the day of the President's announcement, two oil tankers destined for Spain (the oil, probably for Germany) were prevented from sailing; but only a day later a gasoline-loaded tanker was permitted to sail for Soviet Russia. This was widely believed to be an attempt to improve U. S.-Soviet relations. However, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles said permission to carry such cargoes depended on "practical matters of safety alone," hinting that it was not deemed safe for U. S. ships in Spanish waters.

Japan has been getting great quantities of U. S. oil and scrap iron, and Germany has been the final destination of much oil shipped from here to Spain. The new restriction caused considerable uproar in Tokyo: the Foreign Office instructed the Japanese ambassador to the U. S. to investigate the "curb" on oil and scrap metal exports, and threatened that Japanese reaction "will be very great" if the measure is really an embargo against Japan.

Social Legislation

When both major political parties wrote platforms favoring the continuation of social legislation, no doubt remained that government in the United States had become permanently socially conscious. Recent action of most of the state legislatures follows the same line; they are passing laws to make the state social security programs conform to federal programs, and, in addition, some states are going ahead with their own plans.

In 1927, only four states had old-age pension laws, most of which were inadequate; now every state has such laws, conforming



NEW AUTOGYRO

This new plane can take off from a stationary position, jumping 25 feet into the air before it begins to move forward. The army may use planes of this type for observation.

The Week at Home

What the People of the World

with the federal government's requirements. Since 1935, every state has adopted comprehensive unemployment compensation laws, and many of these are now being revised in light of the past few years' experience. Direct relief is inconsistently practiced, as there are no federal controls to make for uniformity. Old-age pension laws are being revised in some states so that citizens will not have to live in the state more than one year to be eligible, and some states have arranged for larger pension funds. Little work has been done by states in developing medical care of public health because, it is believed, they are waiting for the federal government to take action along that line.

Alien Registration

More than three and a half million aliens in the United States will be registered during the four months from August 27 to December 26, as part of the national defense program. The Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service will conduct registration in about 8,000 post offices over the country, and enforce the \$1,000 fine and six months' imprisonment prescribed by the Alien Regis-

will cross the ocean on regular westbound ships. Poor children as well as wealthy ones will be evacuated, as the British Parliament has promised to provide fares for those unable to pay for themselves.

Several weeks ago, 200,000 children were registered for evacuation. Mercy Ships for Children, Inc., is trying to push a bill through Congress to permit American ships to enter British waters and rescue children; a preliminary survey by this group indicates that idle American ships could evacuate nearly 30,000 British children a month, were it not for Neutrality Act restrictions. British ships could also carry nearly 30,000 a month, but the British government cannot spare naval ships to convoy them.

Although American ships would theoretically be safe from attack by belligerents, one difficulty is that it would cost twice as much to carry children on our ships as on British ships, because U. S. ships could not carry pay loads on the trip to England.

Mailing Gold

Eighty per cent of all the monetary gold in the world is now in the United States. Since



BANTER AT THE FIGHT CAMPS

THOMAS IN DETROIT NEWS



THROUGH THE STORM

ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

tration Act for failure to register, refusal to be fingerprinted, or falsifying statements.

In addition to registering and being fingerprinted, aliens over 14 will probably be asked about 15 questions, including two or three "searching" queries intended to show each person's fundamental attitude toward the U. S. Alien children under 14 must be registered by their parents or guardians. Sample forms, available in advance, may be filled out and taken to post offices at the time of registration and fingerprinting. Each alien will receive by mail a card as evidence of his registration, and will be subject to fine or imprisonment for not reporting a change of address within five days of the change.

President Roosevelt has said the program is "designed not only for the protection of the country but also for the protection of the loyal aliens who are its guests." All records of the registration must by law be kept secret and confidential. They will be available only to persons approved by the attorney general.

Refugee Children

About 470 British children were carried on British ships to this country early last week. Many of them were accompanied by members of their families; none were brought here directly through the efforts of the American organizations which are calling for mass evacuation of children from the British Isles.

The number of children finding haven in the United States will increase during coming weeks for the State Department has issued visas for 1,000 children who will be taken care of by charitable organizations here until homes can be found for them. These 1,000

the beginning of the war, the flow of gold to this country has increased to the proportions of a flood. It has come to us in liners, in warships, in tramp steamers. Skippers of small vessels now in our ports are telling exciting tales of smuggling gold out of Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium almost under the very noses of the invading Germans. Much of this foreign gold was sold to our government at the present legal rate of \$35 an ounce. Great Britain and France, in particular, turned over large quantities of it so that they could purchase supplies in this country. By now we have in the vaults of the United States Treasury about \$20,400,000,000 in yellow metal.

There has been so much talk about the underground steel-and-concrete depository which is guarded by the garrison of Fort Knox, Kentucky, that mention of our buried gold makes us think first of it. Actually, however, most of the gold has been piling up in the vaults of Treasury offices and the Federal Reserve Bank in New York. Until several days ago, the sum at Fort Knox was only about \$5,500,000,000.

A million dollars in gold weighs about a ton. Gold is so heavy and has to be guarded so carefully that it is very expensive to move. The cost of moving it kept the Treasury from sending more to Fort Knox until the stream from Europe forced it to do so. It has now been decided to concentrate about half of the gold stock there, and that means the shipping of something like another five billion. Technically it will all go by mail, and the postage fee will total a little more than \$1,000,000.

The first shipment left New York the other day. The gold bars, packed four to a case,

Time and Abroad

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

were taken after business hours in mail trucks from the United States Assay Office to Pennsylvania Station. Police, secret service agents, and soldiers handled the movement so quietly that few people were aware of what was happening.

The special train which carried the gold included five or six baggage cars, and there were two sleeping cars and one dining car for post office inspectors and soldiers accompanying the shipment. It was estimated that the gold in this shipment was worth at least \$120,000,000. Unofficially it was stated that other shipments would follow on Monday and Thursday of every week until the whole five billion had been moved.

FOREIGN

War's Progress Report

During the past week, German air forays over the British Isles have become more frequent and more intense; and the British, for their part, have enlarged the scope of their



"SAVE US FROM THE BOMBS"
KIRBY IN N. Y. POST

attacks upon Germany and German-held territories. Both sides continue to minimize the success of the other's attacks. In view of the stringent military censorship, it is impossible to strike a completely accurate balance of gains and losses. Reports from neutral capitals in Europe credit the British with exacting a high toll from the Nazis. Stockholm accounts declare that Bremen, Hamburg, and other ports are in ruins; that morale among inhabitants of northwestern Germany is shaken; that the destruction in this region is so widespread that the people are calling for revenge. Against this is the indication that the German air force and German submarines are striking hard at the British fleet. Military experts say that Britain is facing a serious shortage of destroyers and small escort and patrol boats, the kind of vessels that are essential for effective convoy duty.

Meanwhile, as July passed into August, there was continued speculation, as there has been since the start of the Battle of Britain on June 18, over the date of the much-advertised German invasion. It was conceded, all around, that if the invasion is to take place at all this year, it could not be long delayed. There were plenty of signs to suggest that the Germans were preparing for it. During the last days of July, all railroad traffic between the occupied and unoccupied parts of France had been halted. Troop concentrations had been noted in northwestern France for a depth of 100 miles. Italian planes were said to be assembling at bases in Sardinia for a great attack upon Gibraltar to coincide with the German invasion of the British Isles. Yet, it is possible that all this was merely

a feint, in order to threaten and cajole the British into making peace with Hitler. At all events, the British feel extremely confident of their ability to repel an invasion. They are preparing for a long war and have now extended their blockade to include both Spain and Portugal.

Rumania Coughs Up

The confused and often devious maneuvers by which Rumania sought during the past two decades to retain her war-swollen frontiers now appear to have exhausted themselves. Under the compulsion of the Axis, which has set about to refashion Europe while still engaged in the struggle with Britain, King Carol has been forced to agree to the cession of territories that once belonged to Hungary and Bulgaria. The Hungarian government lays claim to the entire province of Transylvania, ceded to Bucharest by the Treaty of Trianon. Bulgaria's demands, going back to 1913 at the close of the Balkan Wars, are more modest, comprising only the southern Dobrudja, with a Bulgar population of 200,000.

What the new boundaries will be has not yet been determined. Chancellor Hitler and Premier Mussolini, it appears, have decided to let the three nations involved negotiate among themselves. Indications are that they have been instructed to reach an agreement by September 15, with the hint that failure to do so will leave the Axis no choice but to impose its own terms.

The chief reason for the German-Italian desire to settle Balkan revisionist claims at once is probably to be found in the growing aggressiveness of Soviet Russia. Germany, with her forces entirely absorbed in the west, had to condone the recent Soviet march into Bessarabia. But Hitler is as anxious today, as he has always been, to establish a well-defined limit to Soviet expansion in southeastern Europe; the more so, perhaps, because his Italian ally has come to regard the Balkan area as part of his own imperial poaching grounds. This pressure by Mussolini to assure the integrity of the Balkans against further Soviet raids may account for the reports, as yet unconfirmed, of a pending Axis-Soviet deal whereby Moscow would be given part of German-held Poland in exchange for assurances that the Soviet armies would be held behind the Pruth River, the boundary between Rumania and the Russian-occupied province of Bessarabia.

Bolivia---An Example

A concrete illustration of the problems, multiplied many times over, that the United States must deal with in order to carry the ideal of Pan-American solidarity beyond the stage of solemn declarations is provided by the republic of Bolivia. That nation, like



PART OF ENGLAND'S DEFENSE AGAINST GERMANY

These derelict cars have been placed in a large field "somewhere in England" for the purpose of preventing enemy planes from landing.

others in Latin America, has developed a colonial economy, dependent for the most part upon a single product, tin. Its shipments of tin have amounted annually to about \$50,000,000 and have enabled it to obtain abroad many goods not manufactured at home.

But the European war has raised the possibility that Bolivia may some day, perhaps in the immediate future, lose her chief market. Bolivia has no tin smelters of her own. Until now the ore has been shipped to Great Britain and there smelted down. With German planes incessantly blasting at British industrial centers, there is grave danger that the smelting plants may be ruined. There is the equally grave prospect, even if the plants should escape destruction, of a German victory over Britain, with the Nazis then accepting Bolivian tin only on terms dictated by them.

The problem posed by these possibilities is, in point of fact, easily capable of solution and the solution could be made to fit neatly into the plans for hemisphere defense, for the United States has no substantial tin resources of its own and has been relying upon the Dutch East Indies for its supplies. Purchase by the United States of Bolivian tin would thus serve the twofold purpose of bolstering Pan-American prosperity and removing the fear that Japan may cut off American imports of tin from the East Indies.

Before such an arrangement can be completed, however, several barriers have to be cleared and these are not going to be easy. The Bolivian government would like to have smelting plants established near the tin mines with the aid of American capital. And private financial interests in the United States will want pretty definite and binding guarantees before they risk any capital. They recall uneasily that a previous Bolivian administration expropriated American oil properties, in 1937, at the instigation of a Fascist-minded politician who seemed less concerned with fighting American "imperialism" than with furthering the interests of Italy and

Germany. The other alternative is that of financing the projected plant construction through a United States government loan, cleared through the Export-Import Bank. But this proposal comes squarely against the fact that Bolivia has defaulted on its debts and no Bolivian government that attempted its repayment could count on remaining in office for very long.

French Brittany

Brittany is the northwestern French province that juts out into the Atlantic to run parallel to Britain's southern coast. It was once occupied by the Celts and later by the British and many of the Bretons still speak a dialect in which their Celtic origins are distinguishable. For many years before the



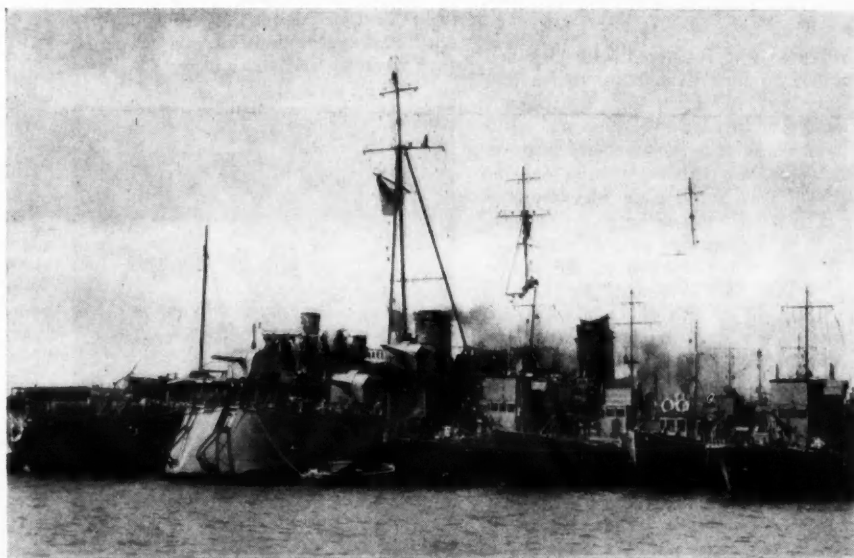
BRITANNY

war, the province attracted thousands of tourists. Nowhere else in France was village life so well preserved in its simplicity and its adherence to local lore and costumes.

The province has a rugged, sea-eaten coast, affording innumerable little harbors where the Breton fishermen, in better days, beached their boats and stretched their sky-blue nets to dry. The life of the fisherfolk was hard and precarious and it etched itself upon their thought in a gloominess and fatalism that was singularly at odds with the mood of the rest of France. The Bretons might be described as the Puritans of France, serious, solemn, perhaps overly given to an indulgence in pessimism.

In recent years, their lot has become harder because of the decline of the fishing industry and the replacement of the small fishing craft with modern, highly industrialized fishing steamers. A good many of the Bretons, forced out of the fishing trade, became marines and at one time fully half the seamen in the French navy were of Breton birth.

With the defeat of France, Germany is seeking to revive an old Breton autonomist movement that would sever relations with the French government. A separate military governor has been appointed to the province and special recognition has been given to the autonomists to organize a separatist government.



FRENCH WARSHIPS IN ENGLAND

A French escort vessel, a destroyer, and four submarines, lie at anchor in a British port after seizure by the British fleet. Some French war vessels, manned by French sailors and officers, are said to be operating with the British navy.



1917
Secretary of War Newton D. Baker draws the first number in the World War draft.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

History of Conscription in the United States

THE enactment of the compulsory military service measure introduced in Congress by Senator Burke and Representative Wadsworth would mark a sharp departure in American tradition. Never before in peacetime has the United States accepted the principle of conscription. Moreover, until the World War, the draft was resorted to only after the system of voluntary enlistments had failed to produce the required man power for the armed forces. Even when the United States entered the World

War there was considerable opposition to conscription as a means of raising an army and navy.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

An examination of past wars shows, however, that the voluntary enlistment system has not provided adequate man power for military purposes. During the Revolutionary War, inducements in the form of gifts of money, land, and clothing were offered to recruits. Two of the colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts, resorted to the draft in order to make up their quota of the Continental Army. George Washington came to the conclusion that conscription was the only method by which an adequate army could be raised. But aid from France came in time to avert the necessity of resorting to the draft during the war for independence.

During Civil War

During the Civil War, the attempt was once more made to supply the requirements for man power by voluntary enlistments. In 1861, the voluntary system was successful, but when President Lincoln the following year asked for 300,000 additional volunteers, difficulties were encountered in raising the necessary number. The states attempted conscription on their own, but they were unsuccessful. Finally, a federal draft law was enacted, on March 3, 1863, which made all males between the ages of 20 and 45 liable for military service. The Confederacy had already resorted to conscription the year before in order to meet its needs.

Strong opposition developed to the draft of Civil War days, largely as a result of certain inequalities which existed in the law. It was possible to hire substitutes and persons of means thus enjoyed a favored position. It was largely because of these and other inequalities that the riots against conscription broke out in New York and strong opposition manifested itself elsewhere in the North.

Profiting by the earlier experiences, the nation resorted to conscription during the

World War as the sole means of raising an adequate army and navy. A conscription bill, known as the Selective Service Act, was introduced in both houses of Congress shortly after the declaration of war against Germany. The purpose of the measure, as stated by the secretary of war, was to make certain "the raising and maintenance of the required forces with the utmost expedition. It establishes the principle that all arms-bearing citizens owe to the nation the duty of defending it. It selects only those who, by reason of their age and physical capacity, are best fitted to receive the training and withstand the actual hardship of campaign, and who, happily, can be taken with least disturbance of normal economic and industrial conditions."

Selective Service Act

The first conscription law required all male citizens between the ages of 21 and 30 to register. In a single day, June 5, 1917, over 10,000 men between these ages registered. Governors of states, mayors of cities, and numerous other officials lent their support to the campaign. As the war progressed, the age limits were extended, running from 18 to 45. Altogether some 24,000,000 men registered with the government under the World War conscription regulations. They were obliged to fill out questionnaires giving detailed information about themselves.

Nearly 3,000,000 men were inducted into the various branches of the service as a result of the conscription during the World War. An additional 2,000,000 men enlisted voluntarily in order to get into the service before they were caught by the conscription law.

All those who registered were classified according to their availability to perform military service. There were five classifications. The first included those who could be inducted into the army or navy with the least disturbance to the essential war industries. Then came those who were deferred from service because of dependents, work in vital industries, and so on.

The conscription system of the World War has been used as a model for the program that will go into effect in the event of another war, and to a lesser extent, for the conscription bill debated in Congress last week. Its purpose was not only to build a necessary army and navy with as little delay as possible, but also to establish an effective army behind the military front to supply the army in the field and to keep the economic machine running smoothly to meet the war needs. Those who were deferred from actual military service, for one cause or another, were obliged to get into work which was essential to the national defense.

Personalities in the News

TOP military man of the United States Army, in peacetime, is the chief of staff. Today, as a second "world" war seems to threaten the peace of this country, as Congress makes immense appropriations to build up our army and navy and debates the question of drafting men for the army, the man who holds that position is Brigadier General George Catlett Marshall, 58 years old, long recognized as one of the greatest tacticians and executives in the U. S. Army's history.

Since he took office last August, the army's sandy-haired, six-foot-tall leader has had on his hands the problem of assembling and equipping his forces, first, to repel a possible immediate invasion of the Western Hemisphere, and second, to organize and prepare long-range permanent defenses for the nation. Probably no other U. S. Army officer is so well prepared for this job as Marshall.

Unlike the six other general staff members, all West Pointers, the present chief was trained at Virginia Military Institute; he left there in 1901, a senior cadet captain and all-Southern tackle. Widespread and varied experience followed: service in the Philippines, study at the old Infantry-Cavalry School, teaching at Leavenworth, training businessmen at Salt Lake City, then the World War. In France with the First Division, Marshall was only a captain on the general staff, but other staff men admitted he was the First Division. Efficiency at the front carried him to the rank of colonel in a year. Attached to the Operations Section, he more or less anonymously planned the shift of nearly a million men, 4,000 cannon, plus the necessary supplies, from St. Mihiel to the Argonne front. Complicated plans, executed with careful timing, enabled the accomplishment of all this in 14 days, only a short distance behind the lines, but undiscovered by enemy aviators.

Though his abilities were recognized by a few high officers, Marshall was dropped to his prewar rank of captain when peace came, primarily because of the army's system of promotion for seniority. After the war, he spent five years as an aide to General Pershing, five as an instructor at the Army War College; he served with the National Guard; he commanded troops in China, on our South Atlantic coast, and in the west; he trained officers in the Citizens' Military Training Camps and the Reserve Officers Training Corps; he commanded many CCC camps. In 1920, he had been promoted to the rank of major, then lieutenant colonel and colonel; he became a brigadier in 1936, and head of the nation's army just a year ago.

Kindly, considerate of his subordinates, Marshall has the respect and admiration of his men. He works long, dislikes formal parties, and is rated one of the army's best storytellers.

The chief of staff believes the United States must have a well-equipped army of two million men if it is to defend the Western Hemisphere. He is working now to get such an army and to train it.



GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL

SHORTLY after the completion of the Versailles Treaty, there was published, in England, a volume on "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" that stirred many intelligent men out of their complacency, though it left the politicians unmoved. Its author was John Maynard Keynes, who had represented the British Treasury at the peace conference and had been deeply disturbed by the lack of far-seeing statesmanship among the Allied negotiators. In his work, he cautioned against the reparations imposed upon Germany. He warned in particular that the breakup of Europe into small, self-contained economic units would prove the undoing of the Allied victory. The accuracy of his predictions gained him world-wide recognition.

When Great Britain entered the present war against Germany, Keynes came forward with a novel and admirably reasoned budget scheme that elicited applause—if only for its objectives—even from the *London Times*. It was a plan for compulsory savings that would greatly increase the government's revenues, prevent prices from mounting too high, and keep in trust a surplus of purchasing power that would cushion the eventual transition from a war to a peace economy. The scheme has been discussed far and wide in England and if



JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

the war should be prolonged, there is a good chance of its adoption.

Mr. Keynes is no stranger to the United States. His theories on government spending have found some rather enthusiastic converts among the New Deal economists and in recent weeks he has caused considerable comment by suggesting that the American defense program may prove the start of a great industrial revival that may and can continue long after the defense emergency has passed. Reduced to its bare essentials, it is Mr. Keynes' contention that the rearmament program will enable the United States, for the first time since the start of the depression, to utilize all its industrial resources and its employable man power. With the achievement of that balance, it will be possible to measure the degree of industrial output essential to full employment, and to maintain, reduce, or increase that output through proper government controls. Contrary to the frequently expressed opinion that the United States must steel itself to sacrifices in order to prepare its defenses, Mr. Keynes believes that the war effort, "so far from requiring a sacrifice, will be a stimulus to greater individual consumption and a higher standard of life."

Although many of Mr. Keynes' economic theories have been roundly assailed, the man himself is no burning radical. He is a serious student of political economy and is less interested in the epithets his schemes bear than in the concrete results they achieve.

Mr. Keynes, who is now 57, was educated at Eton and Cambridge and has had wide experience in British government affairs. He is not only an economist of note but an expert on Indian affairs.

Princeton Offers Hospitality to Nonpolitical Sections of League

ASAD, and perhaps a final, chapter in the history of the League of Nations was written a few days ago, when Joseph Avenol, head of the League Secretariat, announced his resignation. Realizing that the League, in its present form at least, is powerless to act as a political force in settling world problems, M. Avenol reluctantly dismissed most of the permanent employees on the League staff and prepared to shut the doors of the great white palace in Geneva—the same doors which were opened with such ceremony only a few years ago.

But while the League will depart from Geneva, an effort will be made to keep some of its work alive. Princeton University, acting with several other educational institutions in Princeton, has offered hospitality to the nonpolitical sections of the League which have done such valuable work in promoting international cooperation in such matters as health, economics, finance, and narcotics control.



JOSEPH AVENOL

Closing the League offices in Geneva came as a heavy duty to Joseph Avenol, who has struggled for the last seven years to make the League an effective organization for world peace. As secretary-general it was his task to see to it that the routine work of the League was carried on, and to prepare the meetings of the Council and Assembly. He did his work well but, because of the manner in which the League was constituted, he was naturally powerless to make the member nations support the League if they did not wish to do so.

It was the misfortune of Joseph Avenol, that the great confederation was already in decline when he took charge of it. The

League successes of the latter 1920's were only memories, and, though it continued its excellent work in research, drug regulation, and plague control, its failure in the political sphere sealed its fate.

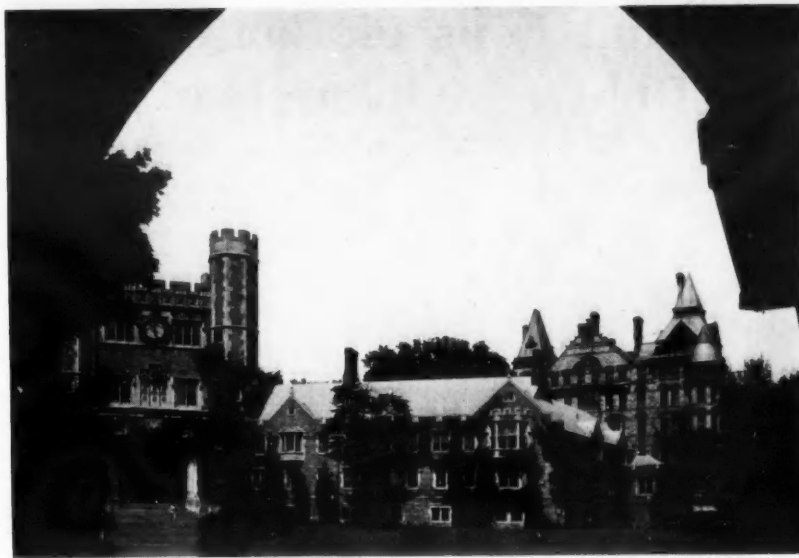
The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 was a direct challenge. The Covenant of the League provided that any member which attacked another should "be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations." But no nation broke off trade and financial relations with Japan. A League commission found Japan guilty of aggression. Japan resigned from the League. And that was all.

M. Avenol and Herr Hitler came to office in the same year. The new secretary-general had not been at work four months when Hitler signed the death warrant of the disarmament conference by announcing Germany's withdrawal from both the conference and the League.

In October 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia. The League declared Italy an aggressor and decided to impose sanctions. But it was a month before the decision became effective, and even then there were no sanctions on iron, coal, and oil, the materials Italy needed most. Britain and France were pretending to oppose aggression and actually trying hard to keep Italy's friendship. The formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis showed them how completely they had failed.

March 7, 1936, Hitler ordered the German army into the Rhineland, where Germany had promised to keep no troops. Next year Japan made another grab for Chinese territory. Again the League condemned Japan, and in 1938 it announced that members might apply economic sanctions to Japan if they wished, but were under no obligation to do so.

The ship of international cooperation was breaking up fast by this time. Italy had announced her withdrawal in 1937. Little Salvador had followed. Chile and Venezuela gave notice in 1938, and Peru, Hungary, and Spain, in 1939. Now the conquest of Europe was well under way, with Germany helping herself to Czechoslovakia and Memel, Italy annexing Albania. In a few more months Poland was partitioned and Finland invaded. The only sign of life the League gave was its proclamation that Russia, by her own act, had outlawed herself. Throughout all this M. Avenol sat in his handsome office in Geneva and watched the postwar structure of Europe melt away, his native France along with it. The ideal of peace through cooperation, peace through a League of Nations, crumbled into ruins.



GALLOWAY

HOST TO THE LEAGUE

Princeton University has invited the nonpolitical sections of the League of Nations to make their headquarters in Princeton for the duration of the war.

- Straight Thinking -

The Tradition Argument

DISCUSSION of public questions usually brings forth some form of the tradition argument. Debates on entrance into the League of Nations, on relations with Latin America, on the Open Door in China, on relief methods, on foreign policy—all have been marked by appeals to our tradition. Usually a proposal is attacked as a radical departure from the American tradition. Its supporters then try to show that it is really in complete accord with everything our country has stood for in the past. The shades of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln are summoned from the history books to appear as witnesses for both sides. Obligingly they recite, phonograph-fashion, the time-honored and time-worn observations which still mean so much to us.

In discussion of the Burke-Wadsworth bill, during recent hearings before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the tradition argument bobbed up again. Here, just to show that the draft proposal is 100 per cent American, the Father of His Country was brought forward as the father of conscription, as well. Opponents, on the other hand, recalled that Washington's plan was flatly rejected. We fought the War for Independence, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War without drafting a man. Conscription had no part in the earliest and, therefore, it may be supposed, the purest American tradition. By way of clinching the argument, reference was made to an address delivered by Daniel Webster just 126 years ago.

Why should tradition be one of the first weapons we seize when an argument threatens? Does it matter so tremendously how our great-great-grandparents did it, or wanted to do it, two or three generations before the horse-and-buggy days? Only mental backwoodsmen would take the position, "Just prove it was good enough for grandpa, and you have proved that it is good enough for us."

When we find a better way of doing things, we want to do things that better way, regardless of the past. We know that every step on the road of progress has meant a break with tradition. Indeed, tradition itself is made by breaking it. We do not honor Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln for their piety in ancestor worship. We honor them for smashing outmoded traditions and beginning new ones, smashing kingship and despotism and slavery so that life might be freer and finer. Without these tradition-smashers there would be no tradition worth referring to, even for purposes of argument. Tennyson's King Arthur put it very well:

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfills Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

But let us not be too hard on tradition. It gives us something to start with, gives us the experience of the race to use until we can acquire some of our own, keeps us from making over and over in each generation the errors our forefathers made in groping for a way to follow. Yes, every step forward has meant a break with tradition, but not every break with tradition has meant a step forward. Let us stick to the old road until we have reason to believe we have found a better trail. Heading off into the blackberry bushes on the chance that we shall strike one is not an intelligent departure from tradition.

The point of all this is that we should not ignore tradition, but neither should we worry about leaving it when we have good reason. Common sense tells us not to greet a proposal with the indignant shout, "Are we going to abandon the tradition of our fathers?" It would be more reasonable to ask, "Is this an improvement on our fathers' method—as theirs was an improvement on the method of our grandfathers?"

"Times change," we are always saying, but the tradition argument is based on the assumption that they do not or that it makes no difference if they do. Knowledge increases. The information available on every subject today dwarfs that of our forefathers almost to insignificance. If conditions are different, if our knowledge has increased, how can we hope to decide present-day issues by quoting even the greatest authorities of long ago? If the old way is indeed still best, we must prove it in terms of the present.

- Do You Keep Up With the News? -

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 3, column 4)

1. At the beginning of the Havana Conference, President Roosevelt asked Congress to increase the capital and lending power of the Bank by \$500,000,000.

2. True or false: "This move was made to help the Latin-American countries in financing export surpluses."

3. British Foreign Secretary said: "We never wanted this war. But we shall not stop fighting till freedom, for ourselves and others, is secure."

4. What is the name of the bill before Congress which provides for a 12-month compulsory military training period?

5. True or false: "There is no clause in the bill which requires all employers to rehire men taken from civil life after the training period is over."

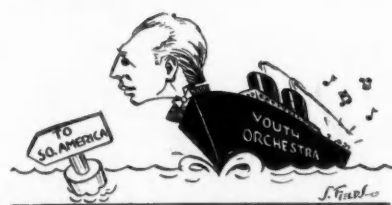
6. The recently appointed assistant secretary of war is (a) Louis A. Johnson; (b) Robert Porter Patterson; (c) Henry L. Stimson; (d) William S. Knudsen.

7. Name two raw materials which the President added to the list which may not be exported without the administration's consent.

8. This move was believed to be aimed at what particular foreign country?

9. Who has been called to London to serve as the foreign minister of the new government of "Free Czecho-Slovaks," which England has just recognized?

10. What famous musician is taking an All-American Youth Orchestra on a tour of South America?



11. "Too many nations have only recently paid a tragic price for confidently placing reliance for their safety and security solely upon a clearly expressed desire to remain at peace." These words were spoken by (a) Cordell Hull; (b) Winston Churchill; (c) Henri Pétain; (d) King Haakon.

12. The new British income tax has been raised to (a) 35 per cent; (b) 25 per cent; (c) 54 per cent; (d) 42½ per cent.

13. What major American industry was charged recently with violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act?

14. Name two products, essential to our national defense program, which the United States imports from the Dutch East Indies.

15. True or false: "The United States Treasury has \$20,000,000,000 in gold, which is the largest store of gold in the history of the world."

16. Who is the premier, minister of foreign affairs, war, and finance of Portugal?

17. True or false: "The Spanish government has occupied the tiny neutral state of Tangier, which lies across the Straits of Gibraltar on the coast of North Africa."

18. The president of Eire is (a) Viscount Craigavon; (b) Eamon de Valera; (c) Dr. Douglass Hyde; (d) James Ryan.

19. What disputed islands off the southeastern coast of South America have been under British rule for over a century? What South American country claims that they rightfully belong to her?

20. Who is the senator from Nebraska who walked out on the Democratic National Convention and started an anti-third term movement by declaring he would vote for the Republican presidential nominee, Wendell Willkie?

Pros and Cons of Conscription Bill Debated Throughout U. S.

(Concluded from page 1)

evidently based on the compulsory conscription law of 1917, but there are two important differences. First, the Burke-Wadsworth bill would authorize training now and is not, therefore, purely a war measure. Second, the present bill requires the registration of men up to 64 years of age, while during the World War men above 45 were not required to register.

The Bill

The principal provisions of the bill, as at present modified, are these:

1. All males between the ages of 18 and 64 will register.

2. Those from 21 to 45 will be liable for training and service in the army and the navy.

3. Those from 18 to 21 and from 45 to 64 will be liable for training and service in the home defense units of their communities.

4. The President will call, for one year's training, as many of those in the 21 to 45 group as he thinks necessary. Probably the first draft will be made up of men between 21 and 30. These will be chosen by lot, and local boards will pass on questions of exemption. If, before the end of the training, Congress should declare a state of war or declare that the nation is in danger, the service of these men will continue until the war is over or the period of emergency at an end.

5. After completing his training, each man will be a member of the reserve for 10 years or until he is 45. In the reserve he will receive additional training for not more than one month in any year and not oftener than three years in any five.

6. The President will order the formation of local home defense units for the training and service of men from 18 to 21 and from 45 to 64.

7. The President will exempt from training men whom the nation needs retained in their civilian employment.

8. Conscientious objectors will be excused from duty with the fighting services, but will be required to serve in such capacities as the President declares non-combatant.

9. Persons who evade or help others evade the law may, upon conviction by a federal court, be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than \$10,000 or both. Any such offenders who may be under military or naval jurisdiction will be tried by court-martial and will, on conviction, "suffer such punishment as a court-martial may direct."

10. The President is authorized to estab-

lish a selective service system to carry out the provisions of the act.

11. The act is to be effective immediately and will cease to operate May 15, 1945, unless it is extended by Congress.

The hearings before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs gave proponents and opponents an opportunity to express their views.

The bill itself gives the principal arguments of those who favor it. Section 2 states that "the integrity and institutions of the United States are gravely threatened and that to insure the independence and freedom of the people of the United States it is imperative that immediate measures be taken to mobilize the nation's strength." Adequate forces, it says, cannot be raised by voluntary enlistment. Besides, it is only "just and right that the obligations and risks of military training and service be shared by all."

Arguments for Conscription

Many arguments were added to these primary ones by the proponents of the bill. The selective service system would list the skills and trades of our people. The training would help in building a unified America. It would teach respect for authority and practical patriotism. Since the trainees would be men of all stations, it would serve as a schooling in true democracy. It would foster good health and develop our youth physically. It might keep us out of war, and, if it failed to do that, it might save us from defeat. General John J. Pershing wrote the committee that if Britain had started conscription earlier the war would now be going very differently. He went on to say that if we had instituted it in 1914 we should not have sent untrained boys to face veterans three years later. The war would have been won much more quickly than it was, he thinks, and that would have meant a saving of thousands of lives and billions of dollars.

The supporters of the bill sensed several possible objections to it and tried to forestall them. There was nothing un-American about this proposal, they contended. "Universal military training is really an American invention," Brigadier General John McAuley Palmer, U.S.A., retired, told the committee. "Washington proposed it as the very foundation of the new American republic long before the modern nation in arms was thought of in France or Germany. In January 1790, less than a year after his inauguration as President, he transmitted a proposal to Congress that all able-bodied young men should receive military training, and that after such training all of them should serve for a time



CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

Opponents of compulsory military service argue that the army can get all the men it needs through volunteers.

in the local units of a nation-wide citizen army." The present plan, General Palmer holds, is essentially the plan proposed by our first President, corrected to suit the times.

Others who expressed their hope that the bill would pass argued that there was nothing undemocratic or un-American in requiring services essential to the public welfare. Our country does not rely on a voluntary jury system or a voluntary tax-paying system. We have compulsory education, and this, they argued, is only public education in self-defense. As for the draft's interference with the civilian careers of our people, that should not prove as serious as might at first be thought, those in favor of compulsory training believe. Boys between 18 and 21 would be assigned to local defense units, so there should be little interference with college work. Comparatively few men in steady employment would be called, for few would be needed compared with the total number available. Officers, who had served in placing men as they were discharged in 1919, said that they had found no difficulty in persuading employers to give veterans jobs.

Objections

Now let us look at the other side as it was presented to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The opponents of the bill were unimpressed by the reasons given to justify conscription. Most of them refused to entertain for one moment the idea that Hitler would attempt an invasion of the United States at the conclusion of the present war. The extreme effective bombing radius is still no more than a thousand miles, and mass bombing cannot be carried on at anything like that distance. An invading army still requires seven and a half tons of shipping for every man. This means that no enemy can even consider invasion of the United States without adequate bases, and these our fleet would never permit it to seize and maintain. What we need, said anti-conscriptionists, is a strong navy as our first line of defense, a strong air force as our second line, and a relatively small but well-trained and well-equipped regular army as our third line. Such a force would not be too large to obtain by voluntary enlistment.

Is the enlistment drive bogging down? Figures from the adjutant general's office show that the numerical strength the army was to reach June 30 was actually reached February 7. Opponents of the draft indicated that they were by no means convinced of the failure of the volunteer system, but they suggested two possible reasons for any difficulty which may exist. Army pay is so low that soldiers cannot support families on it, they said. If our citizens are not sufficiently interested in defense to pay their soldiers a fair wage, how can they expect young men to be sufficiently interested to sacrifice themselves and their future? Also, it may be that to many the sudden hysterical demand for huge fleets of bombing planes and a huge conscript army sounds more like preparation for another European adventure

than mere preparation for national defense.

The most effective support of the anti-draft group was supplied by a man who is not, in principle, opposed to compulsory military training. Major George Fielding Eliot, author of "The Ramparts We Watch," disapproves of the Burke-Wadsworth bill because he feels that it would create only the illusion of security, wasting time and money better spent on other defense measures. Short-term military courses are of no value, he said, and referred to the difference in the fighting qualities of the poorly trained Norwegians and Netherlands on the one hand and the two-year conscripts of Finland and Belgium on the other. "It was the misfortune of France," Major Eliot had written earlier, "that the decisive German blow on the Meuse fell upon the French Ninth Army, composed largely of reservists who had had only one year's training during the period (1930-35) when a complacent French government reduced the period of service to that length of time." He said that "the German success was due, as much as anything, to coordination of effort" which can never be attained with troops of insufficient training. He advocated a highly trained regular army of 600,000 men.

Un-American?

Most of the bill's opponents denounced it as un-American. Some considered it a greater threat to freedom and democracy here than Hitler was ever likely to be. In essence it was European and totalitarian, they said, pointing out that our first three major wars established the tradition of American volunteer armies. Daniel Webster, opposing conscription in 1814, said, "That measures of this nature should be debated at all in the councils of a free government is a cause of dismay. The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered, and despotism embraced in its worst form." The present bill, say its opponents, puts men in the army indefinitely and in so doing limits their freedom to choose their work, their freedom of speech, and their freedom of assembly. Catholics and non-Catholics alike saw danger in adding far-reaching powers to those already exercised by the state.

As for the indirect benefits to be derived from conscription, the opponents could see none of them. "Uniting America" suggested to them the national unity to be found in Germany, Italy, and the U.S.S.R. They preferred an America where it was possible for people to differ. They doubted the value of military discipline to the individual, feeling that it was more likely to stunt than to encourage the growth of self-discipline. What conscription would do for the average drafted man, they felt, was the reverse of beneficial. It would take him away from his job and, after a period too long to permit his employer to wait for him, return him to civil life without any adequate provision for putting him back into industry.

These arguments, pro and con, we are likely to hear again when the bill is discussed on the floors of Congress.

Smiles

Patient: "Doctor, are you sure this is pneumonia? Sometimes doctors prescribe for pneumonia, and the patients die of something else."

Doctor (with dignity): "When I prescribe for pneumonia, you die of pneumonia."

—WATCHWORD



"IF YOU SEE A SIX-AND-SEVEN-EIGHTHS, SAVE IT FOR ME!"

BULLIE IN BOY'S LIFE

An artist who wanted a home among the Taconic Hills of Vermont was talking the matter over with a farmer who allowed that he had a house for sale. "I must have a good view," said the artist. "Is there a good view?"

"Well," drawled the farmer, "from the front porch yuh kin see Ed Snow's barn, but beyond that there ain't nuthin' but a bunch of mountains."

—ARTHUR GUITERMAN

Like many tourists, Lewis Cotlow, president of the Adventurers' Club, wondered why Mexican peons always ride on burros while their wives walk along behind. Finally, he stopped a peasant and asked him the reason. The Mexican, looking very surprised, replied, "But señor, my wife doesn't own a burro."

—THIS WEEK MAGAZINE

A recent collection of answers to examination questions in a public school reveals the following information:

The inhabitants of ancient Egypt were called mummies. The plural of ox is oxegyn. Nero was a cruel tyrant who would torture his subjects by playing the fiddle. Transparent means something you can see through—a keyhole, for instance. Criminals are put to death by elocation.

—RAYS OF SUNSHINE